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CPYRGHT

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Cultural Group

Details Secret

Support By CIA

Freedom Congress  
Says International  
Discourse Periled

By FERNAND AUBERJONOS

The Blade's European Correspondent

PARIS — The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has been con-

demned "in the strongest terms" for its clandestine backing of international cultural exchanges.

The authors of the attack, delivered over the weekend, are the unwitting recipients of CIA subsidies between 1950 and 1958. They deliberated for eight hours Saturday before issuing a statement deploring the CIA's undercover infiltration as a threat to "the wells of international discourse."

Sixteen representatives of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, speaking in the name of 2,000 intellectuals in many countries, refused, however, the resignation of the organization's executive director, 59-year-old Michael Josselson, an American who said he alone had known of the financial ties between CIA and the congress through "front" organizations.

#### Journals Supported

In newspaper interviews, Mr. Josselson revealed Sunday that about 40 per cent of the money spent every year by the congress for cultural freedom went to four cultural journals of high standing: the Encounter in Britain, Preuves in France, Der Monat in Germany, and the Quadrant in Australia.

Among congress members present at the emergency meeting were Raymond Aron, the French sociologist, Prof. Edward Shils of the University of Chicago, Italian writer Ignazio Silone, and Nicholas Nabokov who, until last year, headed the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Mr. Nabokov, one-time head of the Voice of America's Russian section and an adviser to Willy Brandt when the latter was mayor of Berlin, told this correspondent he had never been told of the CIA connections.

According to Mr. Nabokov, this involvement would have ceased much earlier if a plan submitted to the late President Kennedy had been implemented. In 1930, upon assuming his White House functions, Mr. Kennedy was advised to set up an American council for cultural affairs along the lines of the well-established British council.

#### Project Was Dropped

The project was dropped when government officials decided that the U.S. Congress would never approve of it, the fear of "eggheads" being a deeply rooted attitude on Capitol Hill.

In the aftermath of Sen. Joseph McCarthy's investigations, the only way to conduct effective cultural dialogues between America and anti-Communist intellectuals of liberal leanings had been through covert channels, through the Central Intelligence Agency.

Mr. Nabokov, who now lives in the United States after several years in Paris, said most of the money for the projects he himself carried out had come from foundations and private sources. It would appear that about one-third of the funds spent by the Congress for Cultural Freedom came, indirectly, from CIA. This year's expenditures of the congress amount to \$1.5 million.

#### Big Names Involved

The dispute over CIA financing of such activities might have remained a teacup storm instead of developing into an issue of principle were it not for the fact that it involves big names in the fields of the arts and letters. The magazines supported by the congress have had distinguished contributors. And whenever rumors circulated concerning CIA ties, some important public figures were quoted in denial.

In 1966 a letter praising the work of the congress appeared bearing the signatures of Kenneth Galbraith, George Kennan, Robert Oppenheimer, and Arthur Schlesinger. It stated that the organization's policies never were influenced by the CIA—which is a fact. But the signers were not aware, apparently, of the subsidies reaching the congress through a foundation. In Paris, Mr. Josselson named the secret channel of agency funds as the Hohlitzelle Foundation.

Since October, 1963, the Congress for Cultural Freedom has been financed entirely by the Ford Foundation.